

Ireland vol 15.

SECOND EDITION.

SUBSTANCE

OF

Lord Auckland's Speech,

&c. &c.

PRICE ONE SHILLING.

11 April 1799

K Eden (W), Lord Auckland

SUBSTANCE



PRICE ONE SHILLING

1877

SUBSTANCE
OF THE
SPEECH
OF
LORD AUCKLAND,
IN THE HOUSE OF PEERS,
APRIL 11, 1799,
ON THE PROPOSED
ADDRESS TO HIS MAJESTY,
RESPECTING THE
RESOLUTIONS
ADOPTED BY
THE TWO HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT,
AS THE
BASIS OF AN UNION
BETWEEN
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

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SECOND EDITION.
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LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. WRIGHT, OPPOSITE OLD BOND-
STREET, PICCADILLY.

1799.

SUBSTANCE

SPEECH



LORD

ADDRESS TO HIS MAJESTY

WILLIAM

OF GREAT BRITAIN

AND OF IRELAND

BY

THE TWO HONORABLE MEMBERS

OF THE

HOUSE OF COMMONS

SECOND EDITION

LONDON

PRINTED FOR J. WRIGHT, OPPOSITE OLD BOND
STREET, PICCADILLY

1790

SUBSTANCE
OF THE
SPEECH, &c.

LORD GRENVILLE having moved the following Address to HIS MAJESTY, *viz.*

“ WE, your Majesty’s most dutiful and loyal subjects,
“ the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament
“ assembled, humbly beg leave to assure your Majesty,
“ that We have proceeded with the utmost attention to
“ the consideration of the important objects recom-
“ mended to Us in your Majesty’s Message, respecting
“ the connection between this Country and Ireland.

“ We entertain a firm persuasion that a complete and
“ entire Union between Great Britain and Ireland,
“ founded on equal and liberal principles, on the
“ similitude of Laws, Constitution, and Government,
“ and on a sense of mutual interests and affections,
“ by promoting the security, wealth, and commerce,

“ of the respective Kingdoms, and by allaying the
 “ distractions which have unhappily prevailed in Ire-
 “ land, must afford fresh means of opposing at all times
 “ an effectual resistance to the destructive projects of
 “ our foreign and domestic enemies, and must tend to
 “ confirm and augment the stability, power, and re-
 “ sources of the Empire.

“ Impressed with these considerations, We feel it our
 “ duty humbly to lay before your Majesty such Propo-
 “ sitions as appear to Us best calculated to form the
 “ basis of such a settlement, leaving it to your Ma-
 “ jesty’s wisdom, at such time and in such manner as
 “ your Majesty, in your parental solicitude for the
 “ happiness of your People, shall judge fit, to commu-
 “ nicate these propositions to your Parliament of Ire-
 “ land, with whom we shall be at all times ready to
 “ concur in all such measures as may be found most
 “ conducive to the accomplishment of this great and
 “ salutary work. And We trust that, after full and
 “ mature consideration, such a settlement may be
 “ framed and established by the deliberative consent
 “ of the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, as may be
 “ conformable to the sentiments, wishes, and real in-
 “ terests of your Majesty’s faithful subjects of Great
 “ Britain and Ireland, and may unite them inseparably
 “ in the full enjoyment of the blessings of our free and
 “ invaluable Constitution, in the support of the honour
 “ and dignity of your Majesty’s Crown, and in the
 “ preservation and advancement of the welfare and
 “ prosperity of the whole British Empire :”—

LORD AUCKLAND *rose and spoke as follows :*

MY LORDS,

I rise with earnestness, and with peculiar satisfaction, to give my support to an Address to the revered Sovereign of the two Kingdoms, for the purpose of communicating our resolutions to the Lords and Commons of Ireland.

This measure will hold out to the Irish Nation a most solemn pledge of the liberality, affection, and wisdom, of the British Parliament; and will explicitly record the motives and principles by which we are guided in our endeavour to consolidate the Legislatures and unite the interests of Great Britain and of Ireland.

I feel no regret, my Lords, that I have waited in silence to the close of our proceeding. I willingly reposed myself on the superior abilities of others, for the discussion and explanation of the leading and general topics. It may still, however, be possible to throw new lights upon a question which involves the future government and well-being of the greatest empire now existing. Such a subject is inexhaust-

ible. The portion of it which I now propose to offer to your attention, is dry and of much detail. I undertake it only from a sense of duty; and it is an encouragement to me to think that our debates are contributing to the removal of many ill-founded notions and misrepresentations, which were prevalent in the Sister Kingdom.

Few indeed are those who now deny the necessity of some great change being made in the system of Irish Government; and I do not believe that any Noble Lord will maintain, as an unqualified proposition, that the Union of the two Kingdoms, accomplished on grounds satisfactory to each, would not promote the tranquillity, civilization, and prosperity, of Ireland, and eventually the strength and security of Great Britain, and of the British Empire.

I assume accordingly, that an Union is desirable, if it can be reconciled to the opinions and goodwill of both the contracting parties.

The time was, my Lords, when the objections would have originated in this Kingdom;

and we cannot wonder that our ancestors seemed * to wish to avoid a measure, the immediate and most obvious benefits of which were always in favour of Ireland. It is now, however, well understood, that national wealth may be shared and extended, without lessening the prosperity of the country which gives the participation; and the good sense and enlightened liberality of our countrymen would at present induce them to rely cheerfully and confidently on their Parliament, both for the expediency of an Union and for the adjustment of the conditions.

But the consent and co-operation of Ireland are still wanting. Ireland, my Lords, must form her own decision; she must decide for herself, through the medium of the deliberate wisdom of her Parliament.

I am aware, and I admit, that the proposition, at its first opening, has not had the apparent assent of the Irish House of Commons. A small majority of the members who were pre-

* See the Appendix, No. 1.

sent declined the consideration of the measure, and some individuals refused even to know what it was. I will not attribute such a conduct to interested views, to false alarms, to fabricated clamour, to unthinking precipitancy, or to a false punctilio and a mistaken sense of national pride.—I wish to avoid, and I disclaim, every sentiment and every expression that may be harsh or invidious ; but I must be permitted to say, and I say it with satisfaction, that I know enough of the theatre of action, and of the principal actors upon that theatre, to do them the justice to believe, that their resistance will give way to the commanding voice of reason and of truth. Let it be shewn by our dispassionate deliberations, that the Union of the two Countries will be attended with many benefits to Ireland ; let it be recorded that we are disposed to confer those benefits to the utmost extent compatible with our own essential interests. Let this be done:—The calm hour of reflection will convince Ireland that the objections so hastily urged on her part are unsound and fallacious.

I do not think it necessary, my Lords, to attempt the examination of those objections. They have been amply confuted both in this Country and in Ireland. The unconstitutional doctrine which denies the competency of Parliament to effect an Union, and to operate what (by an inference falsely conceived and idly expressed) is called "its own extinction," was exploded even in the beginning of this century. It has been revived in the schools of modern democracy by the admirers of the sovereignty of the people, and accordingly has the strongest claims to contempt and rejection.

I propose, however, before I proceed to the commercial considerations, to examine the nature of that independence, which, as some advisers of the people of Dublin assert, will be subverted and destroyed by the consolidation of the two Legislatures. I think it important to ascertain the value of what Ireland is told she will lose, before I proceed to appreciate what it is that she will gain.

I recognize that independence of the Irish Legislature, abstractedly considered, as secured by the arrangement of 1782; but however perfect the independence may be in principle, it must at all times and in the nature of things be mutilated, and most imperfect in practice. We cannot shut our eyes against the truths presented by the map of Europe, and by the notoriety of the relative, situation, size, and population, of the two Islands.

What then in point of fact is the independence of a country which has no means of defence, or security, or self-preservation, but through the aid and protection of its more powerful neighbour?

If two countries so circumstanced take adverse lines of conduct, a struggle must ensue, and either the weaker of the two must be overruled, or confusion and all the evils of war must follow. If, on the other hand, there should prevail between the two an uniform system and uniform principles of conduct, in leading points

of common concern, the weaker must be presumed to have thus far sacrificed, virtually and habitually, its exercise of independent power.

Let us, my Lords, apply this dilemma to the known and principal objects of national independence !

Has Ireland, or can she have, the power of negotiating, controuling, or even of rejecting treaties, notwithstanding that those treaties may involve the most essential interests of the British empire, of which she forms a part? Has she the means of protecting her own commerce, or of establishing colonies, or of making and holding conquests? Has she any property, or direct concern in the acquisitions made by the fleets and armies of the Sovereign? Has she, or can she have, any naval force? And is not the direction of her military force necessarily conformable to the opinion of British Ministers responsible only to the British Parliament? Has she, in short, or can she have, any controul whatever, or any interference, or even any concern, otherwise than in a visionary and abstract claim; re-

pecting the imperial transactions of peace and war, alliances and confederacies? Has she, even in the exercise of legislation, any access to the Royal sanction, otherwise than through British Ministers not amenable to her Parliament, and under the Great Seal of the British Chancellor.

But I waive all these considerations; though they ought to be strong inducements to Ireland not merely to accede to the proposed Union, but to seek and solicit it. I waive them all, and will suppose Ireland to have every advantage possessed by Great Britain, and in an equal degree. I will suppose the two Islands to be similar, in size and population; in wealth, cultivation, and commerce; in conquests and in colonies; and to be placed upon the globe within a few leagues of each other. Still however with one executive power; and with separate and independent legislatures.

Will any individual of sound mind assert, that the entire Union of two countries such as I have described would be degrading or detrimental to either?

And by what line of reasoning shall a different inference be drawn when the two countries, thus nearly adjoining, happen to be utterly unequal in size and in force? I contend that the inferior of the two, so situated, never can retain its connection and at the same time possess either real independence or an uncontrouled and safe prosperity, otherwise than by uniting with its more powerful neighbour; and that its wish for Union ought to increase in proportion to its inferiority in force.

I might rest this assertion on the experience of Ireland herself. For is it not true, that whilst Great Britain has gradually advanced in civilization of manners, and in every art, science, and improvement, which can give happiness, honour, and security, to nations and to individuals; Ireland possessing the same climate, a fruitful soil, and excellent ports, and a numerous people, to whom the Common Parent of all gave great acuteness and ingenuity, has nevertheless been at all times involved in comparative disorder, poverty, turbulence, and wretchedness? I might add, without exaggeration, that in the

600 years since the reign of Henry II. there has been more unhappiness in Ireland, than in any other civilized nation, not actually under the visitation of pestilence, or of internal war. And all these evils may be traced to the disjointed and jarring action of two unequal powers, closely adjacent to each other, possessing the same interests and subject to the same Crown, but with separate legislatures.,

But why should I confine myself to times in which a persecuting policy was avowedly exercised against Ireland, upon principles of commercial jealousy? Let us now look to a period within the memory of most of us ; the period immediately previous to the attainment of what Ireland was pleased to call a free trade and a free constitution.

Many of your Lordships were Members of this House, whilst the British Parliament still continued to assert and to exercise the claim to make laws for Ireland, as “ being subject to the imperial Crown of Great Britain.” Ireland at that time held the functions of legislation

more in ceremony than in substance. Her laws originated in the Privy Councils of the two kingdoms, and were prepared and approved by the English Attorney-General. And even when a law had passed through the Irish Parliament, it was still liable to be corrected, changed, or suppressed, by the British Cabinet.

Ireland was then also as subordinate in judicature as in legislation. We made her laws, and we interpreted them. Appeals from the decisions of her judges were to the Courts of Westminster and to this House. It may also be recollected, that at the time to which I refer, the hereditary revenue of Ireland was almost sufficient for the support of Government; and the Irish army was established under the British Mutiny-Bill; and afterwards under a Mutiny-Bill passed in Ireland, but made perpetual.

I was not sorry that such a system should cease. It certainly did not allow to Ireland more than the name of the British Constitution, or more than the semblance and mockery of a free government.

But, my Lords, I was not so short-sighted as to persuade myself that, because the Irish freedom, as it was called, took place, Irish prosperity would be the consequence, unless much more could be done.

The law of Poynings, degrading and galling as it might be, nevertheless, united the Laws and Constitution of the two kingdoms. And the appellent jurisdiction of this House, justly and greatly respected by the Irish themselves, assimilated their jurisprudence to ours. When those links of connection were broken, it was evident that Ireland must soon suffer disadvantages much greater than those which had so long depressed her. Neither prosperity, nor tranquillity, nor safety were to be expected from a government founded in the pretensions of a small part of the community to monopolize the representation, patronage, and resources of the whole. The insufficiency of such a system had been felt and lamented for a century, even whilst it was controuled, directed, and supported by the Protestant Parliament of this Protestant kingdom. Now that it was ceasing to be connected with that

Parliament, it became more than ever unsatisfactory to the bulk of the Irish nation, and utterly incompetent and unsafe with respect to the general interests of the British empire.

And here, my Lords, it may add some little weight to my reasonings, if I may be permitted to explain that I have at all times endeavoured to promote the commercial prosperity and constitutional freedom of Ireland; and that what I am now going to state is the result, not of new motives, but of long meditation, and of opinions repeatedly avowed. In doing this, I must necessarily make a short reference to past transactions; but that reference will be found connected, in all its parts, with the business now before us.

So early as in 1779, I stated and published* the expediency of that enlarged system of commerce which was then demanded by Ireland, and which was granted by us a few months afterwards. In 1780, I went to Ireland as Chief Secretary in a Vice-Royalty, which at its close

* Fourth Letter to the Earl of Carlisle.

(in 1782) received, from the Irish Parliament, strong assurances * of national gratitude and respect. In the session of 1781, I was specially named, with the Recorder of Dublin, to be of the Committee for the Bill which extended to Ireland the writ of Habeas Corpus by an Irish law. In the same session, I promoted the Bill for making the Irish Judges independent. I then, also, framed the whole institution of the Bank of Ireland, and introduced the Act which established it.

In 1782, I was the first to propose, in the British Parliament, the repeal of the Statute, 6 Geo. I. which asserted the right to bind Ireland by British laws. When I made the proposition, it was treated, by some persons who now hear me, as violent and precipitate, and as dictated by a party animosity and peevishness, which in truth I never felt. That incident is become matter of history; and I may now say, without scruple, that my conduct was governed by what I conceived to be a just sense of minis-

* See Appendix, No. 2.

terial and personal engagements. The repeal of our declaratory statute had long been thought desirable by the Government and Vice-Royalty under which I was serving, and my endeavour to procure that repeal had been the only stipulation made with me, by some leading persons, as the honourable price of their support. I allude to individuals who now hold very high situations in Ireland, and with whom I have ever since lived in full confidence and cordial friendship.

It is, my Lords, in most cases, objectionable; to refer to the printed statements of Parliamentary debates. Whatever ability or fairness may be employed by the reporter; we know that such statements are generally erroneous; — still, however; it may happen that the substance and accuracy of particular passages may be verified (as far as human evidence can go) by the context and by other circumstances. Subject to this caution, I solicit your Lordships' attention to the sentiments attributed to me at the epoch to which I am alluding. It was in January, 1783. A noble Viscount, then in the

House of Commons, proposed * a Bill “ for re-
 “ moving all doubts concerning the exclusive
 “ rights in the Parliament and Courts of Ire-
 “ land in matters of legislation and judicature.”

“ Mr. Eden stated and avowed his opinion,
 “ that it was for the interest of an empire that
 “ a supremacy of legislation, over all its consti-
 “ tuent parts, should reside within the metropolis
 “ of the empire.” — “ He reminded Mr. Fox,
 “ that he (Mr. Eden) had consented to the abo-
 “ lition of the appellant jurisdiction, and to the
 “ alteration of Poyning’s law, in the confidence
 “ only of measures being taken, pursuant to the
 “ resolutions and address, to establish the con-
 “ nection of the two Kingdoms on a firm and
 “ permanent basis.” — “ He had relied on a
 “ treaty being opened, between the two Parlia-
 “ ments, for the purposes of arranging not only
 “ commercial points, but all the great questions
 “ involved in the future events of peace and
 “ war, foreign alliances, commercial treaties,
 “ limitation of armies, building and support of

* Debrett’s Parliamentary Register, vol. ix. p. 142, 143, 153.

“ navies, proportionable supplies, with the whole
 “ immense detail under each of those heads.
 “ He should then, and not till then, think that
 “ the connection was established. And when
 “ the two Kingdoms had thus realized *one con-*
 “ *stitution*, one commerce, one king, one enemy,
 “ and one fate, it would become impossible for
 “ any man to wish the prosperity of the one
 “ country more ardently and more earnestly
 “ than the prosperity of the other.”

My Lords, the import of those expressions certainly went to the full extent of Union. — I may appeal to what passed, two years afterwards, on the occasion of the Irish Propositions. It happened to me to take a considerable share in the debates of that session, and to insist that one of two lines, respecting our commerce with Ireland, was proper to be adopted — either, that arrangements between the two countries should be settled by negotiation and treaty, as between two independent nations, giving equivalents for advantages interchanged; or, that an union of commerce, policy, and legislation, should take place. Many respectable and most intelligent

manufacturers concurred in those opinions, which were strongly urged in their addresses to Parliament. — “ We are fully convinced (said the Manchester Petition) that no system but what prescribes a participation of burdens as well as of advantages can be fair, equitable, or permanent; and, therefore, that a complete Union is the best means of establishing harmony and good will between the two nations.”

The General Chamber of British Manufacturers, published on the 18th May, 1785, some objections to the amended Irish Resolutions; when, after stating the expediency of “ becoming one people under one parliament,” they added, that “ a real Union with Ireland, under one legislature, would take away every difficulty.”

These suggestions were the result of plain sense, and strongly applicable to the questions then under discussion. I think them equally applicable to the actual predicament of the two countries.

It became a general opinion that uniformity of law must accompany the communication of permanent advantages; and those who had introduced the Commercial Propositions, admitted the doctrine, with the wisdom and liberality which has so long distinguished their conduct. The fourth article was accordingly introduced as an amendment, expressly stating, that “the laws for trade and navigation should be the same in Great Britain and in Ireland.” The Irish Parliament in 1780, on being admitted to a direct trade with our Colonies, had already recognized the same principle, and still act under it; but in 1785, such a condition was not reconcileable to the new notions of liberty. The present Speaker of Ireland combated those new notions with much eloquence, ingenuity, and force, in a speech which would derive great credit from the known ability and accuracy of the reporter, even if the report had not always been understood in this instance to be faithful and authentic.* Some of Mr. Grattan’s expressions on that occasion deserve to be recollected. He opposed the

* Sketch of the Debate of August 12, 1785, by W. Woodfall, p. 105. to p. 112.

Propositions:—" We are told (said he) that the
 " laws respecting commerce and navigation
 " should be similar; and it is *inferred*, that Ire-
 " land should subscribe the laws of England on
 " those subjects."—" It is an Union, an inci-
 " pient and a creeping Union; a virtual Union,
 " establishing one will in the general concerns
 " of commerce and navigation, and reposing
 " that will in the Parliament of Great Britain;
 " an Union, where our Parliament preserves its
 " existence after it has lost its authority." " I
 " consider myself as opposing an Union *in*
 " *limine*, and that argument for Union which
 " makes similarity of law and community of
 " interest a pretence for extinction of constitu-
 " tion."*—In this instance I can agree with
 Mr. Grattan, and the opinion is well and ably
 expressed. A commercial system so settled
 would certainly imply an equality of commerce
 purchased by an inequality of constitution. Si-
 milarity of law in the two countries can only
 be secured, either by virtual Union, in which the
 Legislature of the one country must be under-

* Sketch of the Debate of August 12, 1785, by W.
 Woodfall, p. 31.

stood to controul and supercede the Legislature of the other; or by the incorporating Union and blending of the two Legislatures, so as to place on an equal basis the liberties of both countries. And yet this similarity of law is indispensable in communicating to Ireland a full and permanent commerce, which alone can give to her people, employment, capital, opulence, and industry.

Such, my Lords, were the impressions and reasonings which determined me to call for the accounts now under our view. And having fully considered them, I venture to repeat, what I said in moving for them, that the commercial interests exhibited and proved in these papers will have more effect, than any other consideration, in finally accomplishing the Union of the two kingdoms.

It would, my Lords, be grating to the feelings of us all, to state to Ireland, that she is chained down, though by her own prejudices, to a weak and inefficient independence, subject to incessant collisions, and inseparable from mis-

fortune and humiliation:—I should think it ungenerous to make such a statement, if it were not in my power to present to her at the same time a real and permanent independence, accompanied by a full participation of British opulence, British greatness, and British freedom, with its best companion, British security.

A nation with plain and undisguised truths of this magnitude before her eyes, cannot long be influenced by misrepresentations, or by the partial interests of a few, who may struggle to retain an ascendancy incompetent and irreconcilable to the happiness of the whole.

I shall not advert more particularly to the Irish metropolis, though it would be easy to shew that Dublin will be greatly advanced in employment, population, rents, and wealth, by the effect of the proposed measure. The produce of the Income-Tax will ascertain, that the opulence of our own metropolis depends in a small proportion on the occasional residence of the members of the Legislature; that opulence is chiefly derived from the activity and energy of

our commercial credit and capitals, which can never be communicated to the Sister Kingdom otherwise than by a Legislative Union. But I wish to speak of Ireland in general. The interests of her merchants and manufacturers, and of the owners and occupiers of land, will best be understood by a short analysis of the printed accounts to which I now solicit your Lordships particular attention:

It is impossible, my Lords, to open and contemplate these papers without exultation of mind, at so brilliant an exhibition of the increasing prosperity of Great Britain, and of her unexampled pre-eminence among nations. We see her, mistress of the trade of the world, and possessing a navy amply adequate to the protection of such a trade. We saw without surprize the late avowal of our enemy, that she has not one merchant vessel upon the sea.

These papers will give to your Lordships, what has never before been attempted, the true valuation of our whole commerce according to current prices and to other documents, the ac-

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curacy of which is incontestable. It has been a task of great labour and difficulty, and could not have been completed but by the intelligent exertions and well tried accuracy and ability of the present Inspector-General.

It appears, accordingly, that the total value of our imports and exports in the year 1798 * was ninety-five millions sterling ;—above twenty-two millions higher than the average value of the four last years of peace.

This astonishing amount will be placed beyond all suspicion of exaggeration, when I remark, that the true value of the imports, amounting to 46,963,000*l.* has been obtained from a strict enquiry into the prices current, as well as from the duties payable at a specific rate, in proportion to the true value of each article, which value has been adjusted by the officer with the importers and dealers. The valuation of the exports, amounting to above forty-eight millions, has been ascertained in a manner nearly

* See Appendix, No. 3.

similar; and it is not to be presumed, that however undoubted the integrity of the merchants may be, they have paid *ad valorem* duties beyond the true estimate; and certainly the total, which already much exceeds all our prior calculations, might fairly be carried to above one hundred millions sterling.

If it should occur to any Noble Lord, that the apparent balance of our trade, being only one million, is less than might be supposed, I beg leave to remark, that in order to arrive at the true balance, we must recollect, that for a great part of the imports from our East and West India settlements, and also from the fisheries, no price whatever is remitted beyond what is necessary to carry forwards and to maintain the cultivation and supply of those settlements and fisheries. A great addition must therefore be made to the favourable balance, which, probably, is little short of eight or ten millions. Some respectable calculations go much higher. It is, however, sufficient to know and to be convinced, that the balance, whether

more or less, is as high as the real and permanent interests of our commerce will bear.

The British manufactures exported in 1798, and which make a part of the great total of ninety-five millions, amounted to no less a sum than 33,600,000*l.*;* being 6,477,000*l.* higher than the average export of our manufactures in the four last years of peace.

It may not be immaterial to keep in view these general outlines of that commerce, the unqualified participation of which we are offering to Ireland. I will now proceed to the more confined discussion of the trade between the two countries.

The annual average import into Great Britain from Ireland, during the last four years of peace, was about 4,900,000*l.*; and for the three years ending the 5th of January, 1799, it was above 5,500,000*l.*; being an increase of about 600,000*l.*

* See Appendix, No. 3.

Upon our intire trade with Ireland, the annual balance in her favour is above two millions ; and upon the interchange of the products and manufactures of the two countries, the balance in favour of Ireland is above 3,400,000l.*

And here, my Lords, allow me to specify the principal articles of our commerce with Ireland, and to examine the causes which give, to her, apparent advantages of great extent, and at the same time, under her present circumstances, of little avail,

The printed statements shew, that two-fifths of the average exports from Great Britain to Ireland, for the last three years, consisted of East Indian, Colonial, and Foreign articles. We sent them to the amount of 1,468,000l.: we gave an intire drawback of the duties; and the revenue annually received by Ireland on this branch of our trade was about 345,000l. British money.†

* See Appendix, No. 4 and 5.

† See Appendix, No. 6.

The remaining three-fifths of the British exports to Ireland may be classed under the heads of British manufactures and products. The total average value of the manufactures exported to Ireland, when distinguished from what comes under the description of products, was 1,640,000l.; being about one-twentieth of our whole export of manufactures. The principal article is that of woollens, in value 686,000l.; about one-twelfth of our woollens exported. The other articles separately taken are of small amount, and consist of cottons, cotton-yarn, wrought-iron, leather, glass, earthen-ware, &c.

The articles of British products exported to Ireland are essential to the Irish manufactures, such as oak-bark, coals, bar-iron, hops, lead, and salt. The most important article is that of coals. Your Lordships see, that we annually send to Ireland above 300,000 chaldrons, subject to a duty of only 1s. 2d. per chaldron; at the same time that our coasting trade pays 5s. 9d.; and that the duties paid in the metropolis of England amount to 9s. 3d. A revenue of 600,000l. is raised in this kingdom

on coals: Ireland, however, pays no more than 17,900*l.* for the duties on all that we supply to her: and an Irish duty is levied in Dublin of 1*s.* 9*d.* per ton, with the exemption only of such coals as may be used to promote against us the rival manufactures of glass and refined sugar.

Other products, such as allum, bark, bar-iron, hops, lead, and salt, are subject to similar remarks; they go free from this country, and pay considerable duties in Ireland.

The average revenue raised in Ireland on British products and manufactures is 194,000*l.*—The revenue raised in Great Britain on Irish products and manufactures is 10,850*l.*

I shall now, my Lords, proceed to examine how far the same liberal system prevails respecting the exports from Ireland to Great Britain, and to the British settlements.

I admit, that on some articles of manufacture our protecting duties are nearly prohibitory. But I venture to assert, that the intire abolition

of all those duties would, in the present relative circumstances of Ireland, have no effect whatever. If, indeed, the two kingdoms were blended in their legislatures and interests, so as to establish, between the opposite sides of St. George's Channel, the same sort of connection, interest, and intercourse, which now subsists between the opposite banks of the Humber or the Thames, I willingly believe, that the gradual extension of English capital, and the gradual interchange of workmen, would transfer to Ireland a full participation not only in the woollen and cotton manufactures, but in many other branches of employment. The credit and capital, which are now pent up within Great Britain, would then descend like water to a level, and diffuse themselves equally over both kingdoms. There is nothing in such an operation, when maturely arranged and prepared, which ought not to satisfy those, on the one hand, who dread the removal of their wealth to a country where taxes are comparatively low; or those, on the other hand, who affect to dread an increased taxation. The virtual and gradual equalizing of burdens, as well as of benefits,

is implied in all these statements, and would be accomplished by an united, wise, and provident legislature, without any shock to the interests of either contracting party.

In the mean time, it cannot have escaped your Lordships observation, that the duties alluded to are on articles which we are exporting in considerable quantities to Ireland, such as woollens, cottons, and leather manufactured. Let it also be remarked, that our woollens are subject in Ireland, on a fair average value of the whole export, to about $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. *ad valorem*; and yet the Irish market takes our woollens to the amount of 686,000l. a-year.

Our cotton goods pay a duty in the Irish ports of 9l. 18s. 5d. per cent. *ad valorem*; and yet the value of our cottons imported into Ireland is about 70,000l. a-year.

But the instance of leather manufactured and tanned is still more remarkable. We bring the chief raw material from Ireland, charged there with an export duty, and we prepare it and

send it back to Ireland, to the annual amount of 152,000*l.* It is subject to an import duty, paid there, of nearly 10 per cent. *ad valorem*. We are, nevertheless, able to enter into competition with Ireland even in her own market, though she possesses the raw material, and though we supply her with tanner's bark free of all duty.

I will not detain your Lordships farther in the discussion of articles which, it is evident, would not be sent to us even if all the duties were removed. I think it sufficient to have shewn, that the existence of those duties is in effect no exception to the liberality of our general system.

There are, however, some products and manufactures which Ireland is able to supply to a considerable extent.

The cattle and provisions, furnished annually by Ireland to Great Britain, amount to no less a sum than two millions sterling annually. A duty too, producing about 30,000*l.* is charged in

Ireland on that whole export: and yet, we prohibit in time of peace the admission of provisions from other countries, and do not even permit the United States of America to send provisions to our islands and fisheries. I do not wish, at present, to examine the policy of these exclusive encouragements, nor whether it may be a detriment to our own agriculture to import Irish provisions duty free. The quantity purchased by us is apparently large, and such as at first sight might seem difficult to be replaced, if ever the channel of supply should be suddenly checked. But when it is considered in the scale of our general consumption, its importance is much diminished. I find, for instance, that all the beef which we take from Ireland, including what is furnished for our fleets, is less than one-third of what is annually sold in Smithfield.*

The only other article of Irish products, imported by us to any considerable amount, is that of oats, which may be stated at 200,000*l.* sterling.

* See Appendix, No. 7.

I now come, my Lords, to the exported manufactures of Ireland, which are nearly comprized in the single article of linen. I am content to take the valuation as it is given in the papers before us (1s. 5d. per yard), though I believe it to be below the true average price. It appears, then, by the accounts on your table, that, in the last three years, the annual import of Irish linens (being thirty-seven millions of yards) amounted to 2,600,000l. to which may be added linen-yarn, the valuation of which was 243,000l.

If any of your Lordships happen to be in possession of the accounts of the Irish Custom-house, you will find that the annual export of Irish linens, to all the world, is there stated at about forty millions of yards, and that seven-eighths of the whole, or thirty-five millions, are taken by Great Britain and her colonies.*—Such is the quantity and proportion imported for British consumption, free of duty, and under favour of a protecting duty equal to 25 per cent. imposed on the linen of all other countries!—

* See Appendix, No. 8.

and whatever part of that quantity is not consumed in England, is exported to other countries by the aid of British credit and of a British bounty.

How far this system may be beneficial to England; whether the duties on linens from the continent, with a total exemption in favour of Ireland, have tended to increase the restraints in foreign countries upon our manufactures; and whether, if the Russian and German linens were less discouraged by us, a larger demand for our woollens and cottons would not take place in return; are questions of great moment, which I am not now solicitous to discuss. The beneficial effects of such a system, with respect to Ireland at least, are not equivocal, and may be traced in the printed Report of the late Board of Trade in 1780. It appears, in that Report, that the linen manufactures of Ireland have been gradually raised to their present flourishing state, and are still rising in prosperity, solely by the operation and effect of British care and encouragement. The import into Great Britain, in 1743, when the present system commenced,

was 6,418,000 yards ; in 1773, it was 17,876,000 yards ; in 1783, 21,000,000 yards ; and in 1798, 37,000,000 yards.

The export, with bounty, in 1743, was 40,900 yards ; in 1773, 2,832,000 yards ; and in 1798, 6,400,000 yards.

The foreign linens, in 1743, were three-fourths of our whole import ; at present, they are only one-fourth.

But here, my Lords, I think it just and necessary to remark, that by our actual system we are subjecting ourselves to one of two disadvantages ; either to an increase of price equal to about 25 per cent. on the value, which falls on the consumer ; or, to a proportionate loss of revenue : — and that the amount (being 25 per cent. on 2,600,000*l.*) is in either case 650,000*l.*

For, a moment's reflection will shew, that if the foreign linens, charged as they are with a duty of 25 per cent. can come into competition with the Irish, which are duty free, those

same foreign manufactures would soon be able to supply all our demand, and might be consumed at 25 per cent. below the present price, if they were relieved from duty as the Irish are. On the other hand, the Irish linens, if subjected to the foreign duties, must either be furnished by Ireland at 25 per cent. below their present price, or be driven out of the market. In this latter case, too, an addition of 650,000*l.* would be made to our revenue; unless, indeed, the encouragement which such a change might give to our home-made linens should occasion a decrease in the general import.

Such are the effects of our liberality towards Ireland in this important manufacture, which constitutes in value nearly one-half of the Irish exports to all the world. And there now lies on that table a Bill, which we are passing, to continue our bounties on Irish linens. And yet, a few weeks ago, the following phrases were gravely addressed, by an eminent person, to the county of Louth.

“ In truth, I see much danger, and a probable decrease of our trade and manufactures, from the measure of a Legislative Union, and I cannot conceive any advantage to them from it.”

“ If the linen manufacture rests at all on any compact, that compact was made with the Irish Parliament, the extinction of which takes away a security we had found adequate, and leaves it without the protection of its natural guardians, who, by *their* vigilance, *their* regulations, and *their* bounties, have more than doubled its exports within a few years. As an Irishman, then, I should oppose the measure.”

I know nothing of the compact here alluded to ; and I am unable to annex any sense to the word “ extinction,” as applied to the projected Union of the two legislatures. But I perfectly understand, and know, that the annual importation of Irish linens, to the amount of nearly three millions sterling, is a sort of monopoly given to Ireland in the British market ; and that

the existence and continuance of that monopoly do not depend on the vigilance, regulations, and bounties, of the Irish Parliament, but on *our* liberality, *our* regulations, and *our* bounties, and are intirely subject to the gratuitous favour, good will, and dispensations, of the British Parliament.

It will also be obvious, to the most superficial observer, that if Ireland has obtained and enjoyed these advantages, through the indulgence of the British separate legislature, in despite of any spirit of rivalship or jealousy, she will be more likely to increase than to forfeit them, when she shall be incorporated as a part of the same kingdom, and when Irish representatives shall form a proportion of the united Parliament.

In addition to the indulgences which I have described, we have given to Ireland many privileges for the encouragement of her fisheries. We have also relaxed the whole system of our navigation laws, and permit the produce of our colonies to be imported to us through the Irish

ports. I do not lay much stress on the probable benefits of these concessions. They were, indeed, solicited as of great importance. But Ireland, nevertheless, continues to be supplied through Great Britain not only with fish, to the amount of 113,000*l.* annually; she also receives rum, sugars, indigo, and tobacco, circuitously, (and with all the expence of landing, warehousing, re-shipping, commission, &c.) to the annual amount of more than 500,000*l.* at the same time that her direct importation of these articles is valued at not more than 140,000*l.* a year. Nor will she ever be able to avail herself of our concessions, without the aid of British capital and confidence, which can only be obtained by Union. Hitherto there hardly exists an instance of any considerable British house engaged in Ireland in Irish partnership.

The general results are, that of the whole amount of Irish exports to all the world, about eight-ninths are sent to Great Britain and to

British dependencies ; * that of the exports from Ireland to Great Britain amounting in value to 5,600,000*l.* nearly the whole is received in our ports free of duty, but is subject to export duties in Ireland, and contributes there to her local revenue as a charge imposed on our consumption. On the other hand, that what we send to Ireland is about a tenth only of our whole export ; that about two-fifths of what is so sent to Ireland, consist of foreign articles exported free of duty. That though the intire trade of Ireland with this country is about one-ninth of our whole commerce, the revenue received upon it, instead of being one-ninth of our customs, is less than the 140th part. For example, † that Ireland pays only 47,500*l.* in duties of customs upon the whole of her trade with us, at the same time that we are receiving from other nations in customs 6,850,000*l.* and even from that small amount of 47,500*l.* we pay on the average about 35,000*l.* a-year in bounties on Irish linens.

* See Appendix, No. 9. † See Appendix, No. 3.

But it is not merely that the imports from Ireland are free of duty here. What we export to Ireland is highly charged by her. She accordingly raised annually on her trade with Great Britain and the British dependences, by the average of the last three years, a revenue of 622,000*l.* * of which sum 194,000*l.* were levied on English products and manufactures. The duties which she levies annually on her whole trade with all other parts amount to about 209,000*l.*

And yet, notwithstanding all these encouragements, Ireland, with a population equal perhaps to one-third of the British population, has a trade equal to not more than one-ninth of the trade of Great Britain.

And, lastly, that the small and disproportionate commerce which she possesses is almost intirely dependant on British generosity, and on laws made in Great Britain.

* See Appendix, No. 6.

My Lords, there is a well known line,

Isthæc commemoratio

Quasi exprobratio est immemoris benefici.

I mention it merely to deprecate and disclaim the application of it. The statement which I this day submit to your Lordships is not given grudgingly, nor for the purpose of conveying either reproach or menace. It is my sincere wish neither to irritate nor to alarm; but to conciliate, and, if possible, to convince.

It would be idle to imagine, that in a British Parliament, this great question can be debated, with flattery, and complaisance, and reserves, and on Irish interests only. The people of Ireland ought not to be kept in ignorance that numerous and essential benefits are conferred on them without reciprocity: but that those benefits, without Union, remain liable, on any eventual disagreement, to a sudden explosion with the utter ruin of all the Irish interests dependant on trade and manufactures.

I have not hesitated to display these truths to our own manufacturers and merchants ; because I know it to be their wish, as it always has been mine, to extend to Ireland, even without Union, every accession of prosperity that can be made compatible with our own well being and security. If indeed it should ever appear, that Ireland were seeking strength at our expence, in order to make that strength operate to the weakening of the British empire, then and then only would the manufacturers and merchants object loudly to the system of gratuitous concessions ; and then, and only then, would I join my voice to theirs.

And surely it cannot be either unfriendly or ungenerous to point out to the party obliged the means of giving both permanency and effect to the benefits which are conferred. Can the superior country be expected to enrich, beyond certain limits, the inferior, without having some security that the wealth, and strength, and resources of the one may be considered as the wealth, strength, and resources of the other.

Or is it to be expected that capitals and commercial credit shall be transferred to a country struggling under an anomalous, incompetent, and disturbed government, and maintaining a claim of right to adopt at any time adverse connections and interests? Nothing less than Union can satisfy these questions. We cannot rest on the flimsy and undefined protestation so often repeated, and so imperfectly realized, that “the affections of Ireland are unalienable, and that both kingdoms shall stand and fall together.” Let the Union take place, and all commercial distinctions, and all political jealousies will be annihilated; for there can be no competition between two parts of the same kingdom, having incorporated interests directed by one legislature.

These reasonings are not new; in the discussions between the Scotch and English Commissioners, under Charles II.* it was admitted by the Scots, that, without Union, they could

* See the Report lately printed by Mr. Bruce, and the State Papers which are annexed to it, No. 36 and No. 40.

have no pretensions to commercial privileges, beyond what might be given to any alien power ; and that all indulgences enjoyed whilst the two nations remained separate, must, in their nature, be subject to English controul and to English laws. And it was then also particularly stated, that if Ireland possessed any advantages in the English trade, they depended solely on her being bound by English laws ; or by laws made in Ireland, but originating in the English Privy-Council.

What then, my Lords, are the multiplied and inestimable benefits which our Address and Propositions hold out to Ireland ?—The preservation of her actual advantages, the extension of capitals, the increased employment of her people, with the consequent cultivation and softening of their minds and manners ; and, above all, the introduction of a middle class, one of the great wants of Ireland, and the most important link of security between the highest and lowest orders.—Still leaving to her the same constitution, the same liberties, the same laws

and the same privileges, that she enjoys at present.

We do not, however, propose this measure as calculated at once to dispel the cloud of foreign war and domestic treasors, which has so long darkened the Irish atmosphere. Undoubtedly the Union of the two countries might tend to correct the pestilential exhalations which prevail. But that effect would be gradual, and perhaps slow. I look rather to the effect which would be produced on a return of peace. Ireland would then be governed as the rest of the British Empire is governed; a new order of things would take place; and the manners, principles, and opinions, of the two islands would at last be assimilated. Can it, my Lords, be offensive to add, that Ireland ought to feel an honourable pride in being invited to an Union with all those blessings of industry, order, and law, which have rendered Great Britain the glory and bulwark of civil society, and have secured to her the envy and admiration of the world?

H

And here I shall close ; trusting that with fairness and moderation I have urged what occurs to me, in support of a measure which, in the emphatical words of the King's message, “ may best tend to improve and perpetuate a connection essential for the common security of the two kingdoms, and to augment and consolidate the strength, power, and resources, of the British Empire.”

We know that this measure is dreaded by the revolutionists of the day ; we have seen that the separation of the two kingdoms is the first object of the unprincipled and implacable nation which is making a wild and cruel war on the liberties of mankind.—The separation also of Scotland from England was in like manner sought in the very beginning of this contest.—“ We rejoice (said the Society of United Irishmen in Dublin to their Delegates in Scotland, in 1792) that the Scots do not consider themselves as merged and melted down into another country, and that, in the great question

“ to which our address alludes, they are still
 “ Scotland.” *

The Revolutionary Committee of Nine, assembled in Dublin on the 9th April, 1795, expressed themselves in the same spirit, by a resolution,
 “ collectively and individually to resist even their
 “ own emancipation, if made to depend on the
 “ fatal measure of Union with the Sister King-
 “ dom.”

MY LORDS !

In this awful period of crimes and calamities, amidst the subversion of states and empires, and when the whole system of human affairs seems to be convulsed and endangered, the great and glorious fabric of British liberty stands unmoved and unshaken. We offer to Ireland the full participation of our happiness and security.—And unless Providence shall have withdrawn from her all mercy and protecting influence ; unless the dispensations are to be such as

* Report of Committee of Secrecy, p. 12.

to number her among the wrecks of nations, she will gladly and gratefully receive our offer, and will become an integral part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.—

There remains one point, my Lords, on which, before I sit down, I must say a few words.—Some of the Noble Lords who seemed to oppose the measure of Union, have been pleased to talk much, though somewhat indefinitely, respecting what is most improperly termed, Catholic Emancipation. I am not disposed to follow them into the entanglements of a discussion in which I see no possible good, and much possible mischief.—Nor is such discussion now necessary. Our Fifth and Eighth Resolutions are clear and intelligible, and do not seem either to require or to admit any amendment.—It has long been my opinion, that whatever may be the indulgences, whether more or less limited, to the Catholics in England; the measure of those indulgences ought to guide our discretion with respect to the Catholics in Ireland. I am of opinion, that such a rule is best calculated

for the security, happiness, and true interests, of both persuasions. I sincerely lamented the abrupt and wide departure from that rule in 1793. But I will not look with an unavailing regret to what must now be considered as irrevocable. And I rejoice that our future adherence to that rule must be one of the many important consequences of a Legislative Union.

for the security, happiness, and true interests of
both parties. I sincerely lamented the ab-
sence and was separated from him in 1793.
But I will not look with an unfeeling regret
on what took place here. I shall be able
and I hope that I shall be able to do
what must be one of the
duties of a legislator.



APPENDIX.

No. 1.

THE Report made in the Irish House Commons in 1703, by the Committee on the State of the Nation, concluded with a resolution, that Her Majesty be moved, “ that through her favourable interposition her subjects of this kingdom may be relieved from the calamities they now lie under, by a full enjoyment of their Constitution, or by a more firm Union with England.” This representation was voted by the House.

The Address of the Irish House of Lords, 1st October, 1703, concluded thus : “ As we are sensible that our preservation is owing to our being united to the Crown of England, so we are convinced it would tend to our farther security and happiness, to have a more comprehensive and intire Union with that kingdom.”

The answers returned were in general terms, and not encouraging.

On the 4th March, 1704, the Speaker, in presenting the Bills, referred pointedly to the representation above-mentioned, as having had the unanimous voice and consent of a full House, and prayed the Lord-Lieutenant's support to carry it into execution.

On the 9th July, 1707, the Irish Commons, in their Address to the Queen, entreated Her "to add greater lustre and strength to the Crown, by a yet more comprehensive Union."

The Address of the Irish House of Lords, on the 15th July, 1707, was expressed in terms still stronger in favour of an Union.

No. 2.

*Extract from the Earl of Carlisle's Answer to the
Speaker of the House of Commons of Ireland,
17th April, 1782.*

“ I request you to offer to that House,
“ where you so worthily preside, my most sin-
“ cere thanks for this mark of national appro-
“ bation. It is with cordial pleasure that I
“ shall ever reflect on the fortunate combination
“ of circumstances, if by them I have been
“ enabled to encourage the commercial in-
“ terests of the kingdom, to promote the great
“ improvements of this metropolis, to give a
“ new spring to public credit, to see the liberty
“ of the subject secured by law, to add weight
“ and dignity to the administration of justice,
“ conciliate to His Majesty's government, every
“ persuasion and description of men, and finally
“ to mature the means of uniting a loyal
“ people in general harmony and happiness.”

No. 2.

Extract from the 2nd of Curtis's Letter to the
President of the House of Commons of Ireland.
1781, April 17th.

I request you to offer to that House
where you is worthy to be, my most
sincere thanks for this mark of national
affection. It is with constant pleasure that I
shall ever reflect on the fortunate combination
of circumstances, if by them I have been
enabled to encourage the commercial in-
terests of the Kingdom, to promote the great
improvement of this metropolis, to give
new spirit to public credit, to see the liberty
of the subject secured by law, to add weight
and dignity to the administration of justice,
conducive to His Majesty's Government, every
petition and disposition of mine, and finally
to secure the means of raising a level
people in general harmony and happiness.

No. 3.

AN ACCOUNT of the Total true Value of the Imports into and Exports from 1799, distinguishing the Woollen and Cotton Manufactures and the Irish and the Duties collected on the Linens imported, and the Bounties and Drawbacks of the Gross Revenue of Customs collected on Imports and Exports in the a

IMPORTS.

	Irish Linens.		Foreign Linens.	
	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.
	<i>Yards.</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>Yards.</i>	<i>£</i>
Ireland . .	35,300,610	2,503,165	—	—
Other Parts	38,290	2,712	16,757,409	832,466
Total . . .	35,338,900	2,505,877	16,757,409	832,466

EXPORTS.

	British Manufactures exported.				Irish Linens.			
	Value of Wool- len Manufac- tures.	Value of Cot- ton Manufac- tures.	Value of all other British Manufactures.	Total Value of British Manu- factures ex- ported.	Quantity.	Value.	Bounty.	
	<i>£</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>Yards.</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>£</i>	
Ireland -	801,397	144,771	1,904,133	2,850,301	—	—	—	
Other Parts	8,633,115	4,576,444	17,552,307	30,761,866	6,429,476	560,353	29,232	3,
Total	9,434,512	4,721,215	19,456,440	33,612,167	6,429,476	560,353	29,232	3,

NOTE—The Bounty paid on IRISH Linens exported, on an Average amounted to 34,70

0. 3.

Exports from GREAT BRITAIN, in the Year ending the 5th of January, the Irish and Foreign Linens imported and exported, with the Amount of Drawback paid on the Linens exported ; together with the Amount in the above Year, and in all Cases distinguishing IRELAND.

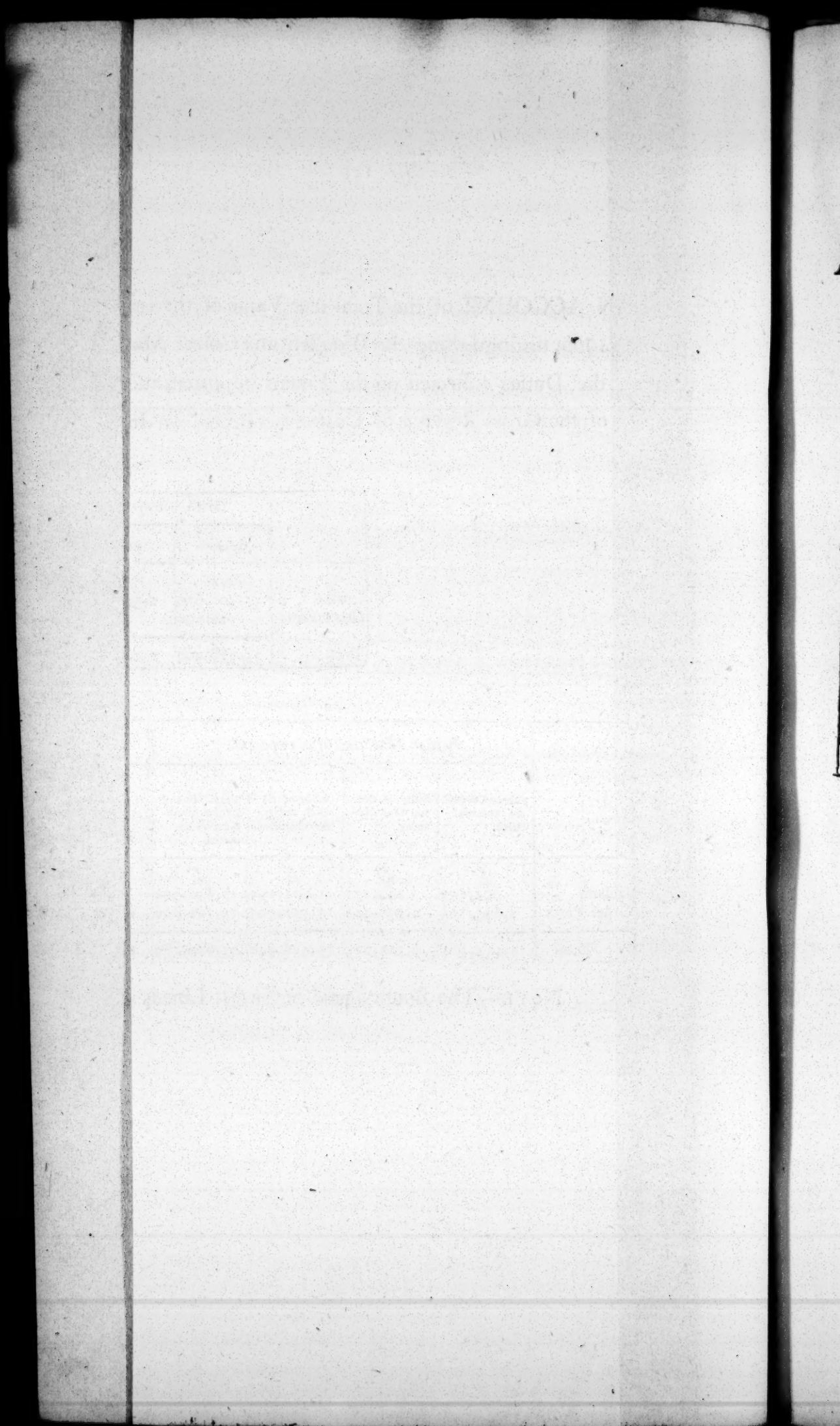
PORTS.

Foreign Linens.		Value of Imports from all other Parts.	Total Value of Imports.
Value.	Duty.		
£	£	£	£
832,466	170,175	2,772,230 40,852,657	5,275,395 41,687,835
832,466	170,175	43,624,887	46,963,230

PORTS.

Foreign Merchandize exported.							
Foreign Linens.				Value of all other Articles of Foreign Merchandize exported.	Total value of Foreign Merchandize exported.	Total Value of British & Foreign Merchandize exported.	Gross Revenue of Customs collected on Imports and Exports.
Bounty.	Quantity.	Value.	Drawback				
£	Yards.	£	£	£	£	£	£
29,232	3,585,744	227,709	32,553	1,412,504 12,187,323	1,412,504 12,975,385	4,262,805 43,737,251	47,542 6,852,293
29,232	3,585,744	227,709	32,553	13,599,827	14,387,889	48,000,056	6,890,825

Average of the Four Years preceding the 5th of January, 1799, ded to 34,700l.



No. 4.

ANNUAL AVERAGE of the Three Years preceding the 5th of January, 1799, of the true Value of the Products and Manufactures of IRELAND imported into GREAT BRITAIN: And also, of the Products and Manufactures of GREAT BRITAIN exported to IRELAND for the same Period, with the Balance in favour of IRELAND.

Value of the Products and Manufactures of Ireland imported into Great Britain.	Value of the Products and Manufactures of Great Britain exported to Ireland.	Excess or Balance in favour of Ireland.
£. 5,510,825	£. 2,087,672	£. 3,425,153

ANNUAL AVERAGE of the Three Years preceding the 5th of January, 1799, of the true Value of the **IRISH** Products and Manufactures, and of the Foreign Merchandize, annually imported into **GREAT BRITAIN** from **IRELAND**; likewise of **BRITISH** Products and Manufactures, and of Foreign Merchandize, exported from **GREAT BRITAIN** to **IRELAND**, for the same Period, with the Balance in Favour of **IRELAND**.

Total Value of Imports into Great Britain from Ireland.	Total Value of Exports from Great Britain to Ireland.	Excess or Balance in Favour of Ireland.
£	£	£
5,612,689	3,555,845	2,056,844

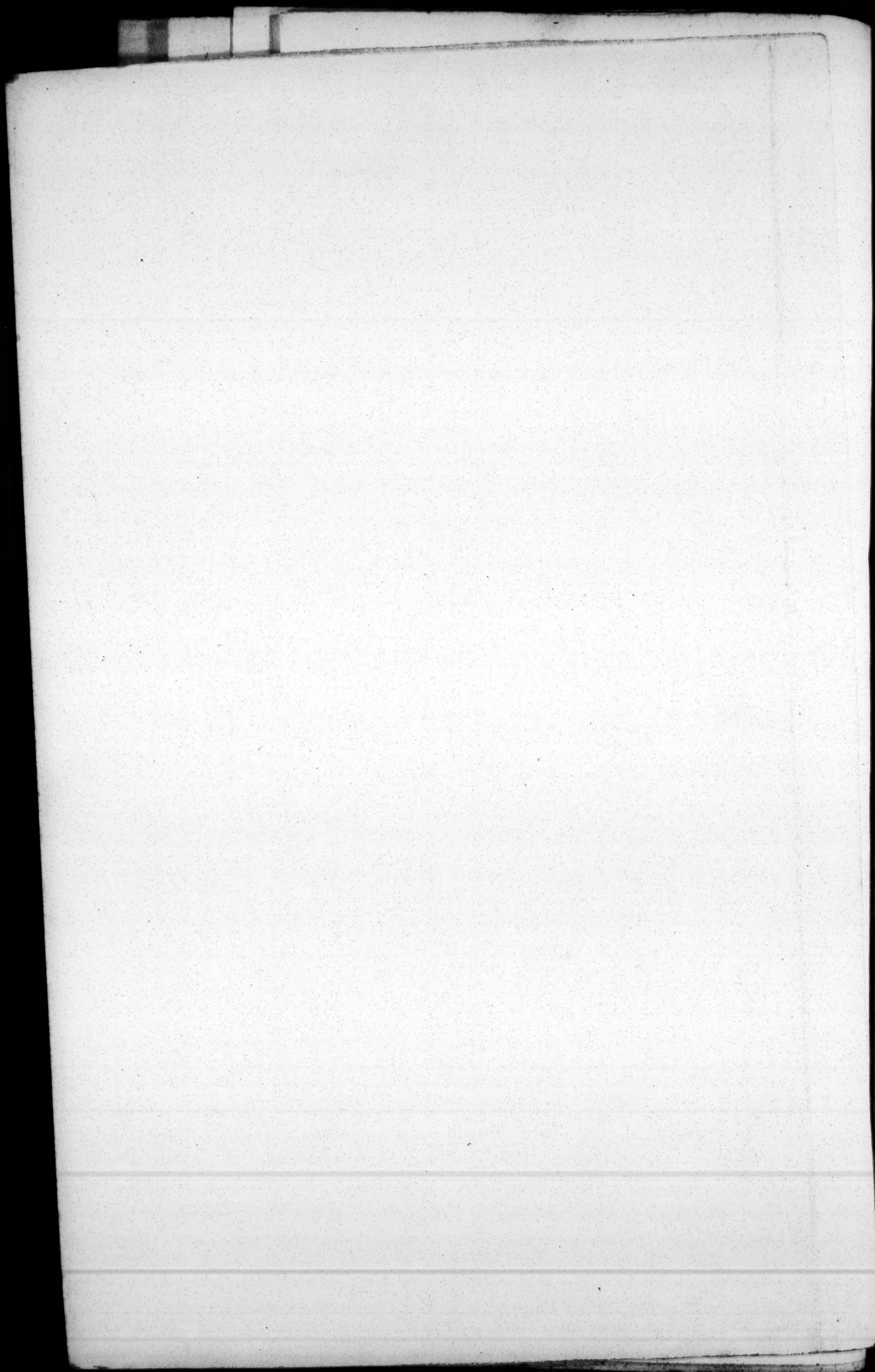
AVERAGE ANNUAL AMOUNT, in the Three Years preceding the 25th March, 1798, of the Duties of Customs and TONNAGES, distinguishing the Subsidies on Goods exported from the Duties collected on Foreign Merchandize imported: on Foreign Merchandize imported through the Medium of Great Britain: Likewise the Total Amount of the Duties

Duties collected on British Manufactures imported into Ireland.				Duties collected on British Products and Manufactures exported to Great Britain.				Duties collected on Foreign Merchandize, imported through the Medium of Great Britain.									
Species of Goods.		Rate of Duty.		Amount of Duty collected.		Species of Goods.		Rate of Duty.		Amount of Duty.		Species of Goods.		Amount of Duty.			
		£	s. d.	£	s. d.			£	s. d.	£	s. d.						
Beer		0	4	8 ³ / ₄	per barr.	11,914	12	7	Beef		0	1	0	per barr.	4,305	3	0
Coals		0	0	9 ¹ / ₂	} per ton.	23,389	7	5	Bullocks and Cows		0	3	3	each	4,947	17	7
— into Dublin .		0	1	9 ¹ / ₂		Butter		0	1	6	per cent.	18,472	14	7			
Cottons.	Plain & coloured	11	11	0	per cent.	12,357	0	2	Hogs		0	3	3		1,019	19	0
	Calico, white .	11	11	0	per cent.				Hides, untanned .		0	1	0	each	674	15	7
	— and 7 ³ / ₄			per yard	Pork				0	1	6	per barr.	10,718	9	0		
	— coloured	0	1	2	per yard				Tallow		0	1	6	per cwt.	916	12	6
	Muslin, white .	11	11	0	per cent.				Skins, calf		5	0	0	per cent.	1,220	0	0
	— and 7 ³ / ₄			per yard	Yarn, linen		5	0	0	per 120 lb.	5,081	10	0				
	— coloured	11	11	0	per cent.	Other articles . . .						1,183	7	6			
	— and 7 ³ / ₄			per yard													
Drapery, new . . .		0	0	2 ¹ / ₂	per yard	29,430	8	11									
— old		0	0	7 ¹ / ₄	per yard	3,463	18	8									
Earthen Ware . . .		17	6	6	per cent.	3,011	8	5									
Glass Bottles . . .		0	0	11	per doz.	4,139	18	6									
— Cases		0	4	2 ³ / ₄	each												
— Plates and Ware		11	11	0	per cent.	27,435	5	0									
Herrings		0	1	2 ³ / ₄	per barr.	3,114	9	5									
Hops		1	6	8	per cent.	5,676	7	5									
Hosiery, Cott. Stock		11	11	0	per cent.	21,438	9	6									
Iron and Hardware .		11	11	0	per cent.	11,401	6	0									
Salt, rock		3	0	0	per ton	18,321	11	3									
— white		0	2	0	per bush.	52,255	7	1									
Sugar, loaf		1	17	11	per cent.	6,200	0	0									
Other articles . . .																	
6 per Cent.																	
Total in the Year ending 25th March, 1798						233,549	10	4	48,540						8	9	40
Ditto 1797						199,745	6	8	32,964						8	8	34
Ditto 1796						197,917	7	2	29,218						14	8	37
Annual Medium in Irish Money						210,404	1	4	36,907						17	4	37
Ditto in British Money						194,219	11	0	34,068						16	0	34

No. 6.

Customs collected in IRELAND in her Commercial Intercourse with GREAT BRITAIN and the BRITISH COLONIES Imported: Also, distinguishing Duties on Goods the Produce or Manufacture of Great Britain, from the Duties on the Duties of Customs on all the other Branches of the Trade of Ireland.

Duties collected on Foreign Merchandise Imported through the Customs of Great Britain.				Total Duties collected on the Commercial Intercourse with Great Britain.				Duties collected on the Imports into, and Exports to the British Colonies in America and the West Indies.								Total Duties collected on the Commercial Intercourse with the British Colonies in America and the West Indies.				Total Duties collected on the Commercial Intercourse with all other Parts.			
Species of Goods.				Amount of Duty.				On Imports.				On Exports.				Species of Goods.				Amount of Duties.			
				£ s. d.				£ s. d.				£ s. d.											
Pepper	4,147	9	9				Sugar	23,773	19	5	Beef	996	14	0									
Sugar	157,144	5	4				Rum	4,363	5	1	Butter	2,035	11	0									
	4,361	1	10				Other Articles	3,589	6	6	Pork	1,838	12	6									
Light	3,177	6	3								Other Articles	228	3	0									
dy																							
eva	10,851	11	4																				
	60,173	2	5																				
	5,711	16	0																				
	144,199	0	0																				
	7,259	17	5																				
	10,489	5	10																				
	2,120	0	0																				



No. 7.

AN ACCOUNT of the Quantity of the following ARTICLES exported from IRELAND to all Parts, distinguishing GREAT BRITAIN and her Dependencies from Foreign Countries, in the Periods of the Four Years preceding the War and of the Four last Years of the War.

FOUR YEARS PRECEDING THE WAR.				FOUR LAST YEARS OF THE WAR.			
	Great Britain and her Dependencies.	Foreign Parts.	Total.		Great Britain and her Dependencies.	Foreign Parts.	Total.
Bacon, Flitch	42,557	8,932	51,489	Bacon, Flitch	83,449	29	83,478
Beef, Barrel	91,803	31,179	122,982	Beef, Barrel	112,397	3,912	116,309
Butter, Cwt.	236,980	71,854	308,834	Butter, Cwt.	263,878	44,786	308,664
Pork, Barrel	81,814	10,404	92,218	Pork, Barrel	132,946	9,131	142,077

ANNUAL Medium of the Number of BLACK CATTLE, and of SHEEP and LAMBS, sold at Smithfield-Market, in the Four Years preceding 1771, and the Four Years preceding 1799.

	Black Cattle	Sheep & Lambs.
Annual Medium of the Four Years preceding 1771	85,682	664,135
Ditto Four Years preceding 1799	105,539	813,239
Average Annual Increase in Favour of the latter Period	19,857	149,104

No. 8.

AN ACCOUNT of the Quantity of the principal ARTICLES of IRISH Manufactures and Products exported from IRELAND to all Parts, on an annual Medium of the Four Years preceding the 25th of March, 1798, distinguishing GREAT BRITAIN and her Dependencies in AMERICA and the WEST INDIES from Foreign Parts.

SPECIES OF GOODS.	To Great Britain.	To the British Colonies and Islands in America and West Indies.	Total to Great Britain and the British Dependencies.	To the States of America.	To Foreign Parts of Europe and Africa.	Total to Foreign Parts.	Total to all Parts.
Linen plain, per Yard	33,695,659	1,285,998	34,981,657	4,012,589	891,530	4,904,119	39,885,776
Linen Yarn, per Cwt.	16,876		16,876	3		3	16,879
Corn, Oats, per Quarter	500,273	1,234	501,507		120	120	501,627
Cows and Oxen, per No.	18,110		18,110				18,110
Hides, raw, per No.	47,888	477	48,365		320	320	48,685
Beef, per Barrel	88,544	23,853	112,397	849	3,063	3,912	116,309
Butter, per Cwt.	240,050	23,828	263,878	1,534	43,252	44,786	308,664
Pork, per Barrel	113,417	19,529	132,946	638	8,493	9,131	142,077
Bacon, per Fitch	83,396	53	83,449		29	29	83,478
Provisions:							

ANNUAL AVERAGE Value, in Irish Money, in the Three Years preceding the 25th of March, 1798, of the IMPORTS into, and EXPORTS from, IRELAND, to and from all Parts, agreeably to the Estimates of the Inspector-General's Books of that Country, distinguishing Great Britain and the British Colonies from other Countries.

IMPORTS.				EXPORTS.				
British Products and Manufactures.			Foreign Merchandize.	Irish Products and Manufactures.			Foreign Merchandize.	
£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
From Great Britain	2,217,425	—	1,205,952	—	—	3,861,193	—	37,812
From British West Indies . .	—	—	116,405	—	—	231,640	—	5,514
From British Cont. Colonies	—	—	6,980	—	—	38,597	—	410
Total, Gt. Britain & Colonies	2,217,425	—	1,329,337	—	—	4,131,430	—	43,736
From States of America . . .	—	—	190,339	—	—	329,107	—	3,295
From all other Parts	—	—	560,711	—	—	182,242	—	1,824
Total, Foreign Parts	—	—	751,050	—	—	511,349	—	5,119
GRAND TOTAL	2,217,425	—	2,080,387	—	—	4,642,779	—	48,855

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

1. **S**PEECH of the Right Hon. WILLIAM PITT, in the House of Commons, Thursday, January 31st, 1799, on offering to the House the Resolutions which he proposed as the Basis of an UNION between Great Britain and Ireland. SEVENTH EDITION. Price 1s. 6d.

2. SPEECH of the Right Hon. HENRY DUNDAS, in the House of Commons, Thursday, February 7th, 1799, on the subject of the LEGISLATIVE UNION with Ireland. THIRD EDITION. Price 1s.

3. SUBSTANCE of the SPEECH of the Right Hon. HENRY ADDINGTON, Speaker of the House of Commons, on the 12th February, 1799, in the Committee of the whole House, to whom his Majesty's most gracious Message of the 22d January, relative to an UNION between Great Britain and Ireland was referred. THIRD EDITION. Price 1s.

4. SUBSTANCE of Mr. CANNING'S SPEECH in the House of Commons, Thursday, December 11, 1798, on Mr. TIERNEY'S Motion respecting CONTINENTAL ALLIANCES. SECOND EDITION. Price 1s. 6d.

5. BRIEF EXAMINATION into the INCREASE of the REVENUE, COMMERCE, and MANUFACTURES, of GREAT BRITAIN, from 1792 to 1799. By GEORGE ROSE, Esq. THIRD EDITION, with Additions. Price 2s.

6. SUBSTANCE of a SPEECH made by LORD AUCKLAND in the House of Peers, on Tuesday, the 8th Day of January, 1799, on the third reading of the "Bill for granting certain Duties upon INCOME." FOURTH EDITION. Price 1s.

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